

KISHIYA HIDAKA

The Theme of Diaspora in the Pentateuch

*Forschungen
zum Alten Testament
193*

Mohr Siebeck

Forschungen zum Alten Testament

Edited by

Corinna Körting (Hamburg) · Konrad Schmid (Zürich)
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The prepress production of this book was published with the support of the Swiss National Science Foundation.

ISBN 978-3-16-170558-8 / eISBN 978-3-16-170559-5
DOI 10.1628/978-3-16-170559-5

ISSN 0940-4155 / eISSN 2568-8359 (Forschungen zum Alten Testament)

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available at <https://dnb.dnb.de>.

Published by Mohr Siebeck Tübingen 2026

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Printed on non-aging paper. Typesetting: Martin Fischer.

Mohr Siebeck GmbH & Co. KG, Wilhelmstraße 18, 72074 Tübingen, Germany
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For Shiori and Jo Konrad

Preface

This book is a revised version of my dissertation, submitted to the Faculty of Theology and the Study of Religion at the University of Zürich, where I received the degree of *Doktor der Theologie* in April 2024. In this revised edition, chapters 5, 6, and 7, which were not part of the deposited version, are now included and expand the scope of the study.

My deepest gratitude goes to my *Doktorvater*, Prof. Dr. Konrad Schmid, for his constant guidance and strong encouragement. His generous investment of time in discussion and his incisive critique were invaluable throughout the research and writing process, and his support continued during the revision of this book.

I also wish to thank Prof. Dr. Thomas Krüger for serving as *Zweitgutachter* of the dissertation.

I am further grateful to several professors and colleagues who devoted time to personal discussions and provided stimulating perspectives: Prof. Dr. Thomas Römer, Prof. Dr. Christophe Nihan, Prof. Dr. Benedikt Hensel, Prof. Dr. Christoph Levin, Prof. Dr. Reinhard Achenbach, Dr. Moritz F. Adam, Dr. Jordan Davis, Dr. Jaeyoung Jeon, and Dr. Jürg Hutzli. Their critical insights and encouragement significantly contributed to the development of my thinking.

I thank Dr. Hans Decker for checking the language of the earlier version of the manuscript. I am also indebted to Dr. Angela Roskop Erisman, who carefully checked the English of this book and provided many valuable comments that improved its clarity and precision.

I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Schweizerische Eidgenössische Stipendienkommission (ESKAS), which awarded me the Swiss Government Excellence Scholarship from 2020 to 2024. This scholarship made possible my doctoral research in Zürich under the most favorable conditions. I am likewise grateful to the Swiss National Science Foundation (SNSF) for its generous Open Access funding, which enabled the Open Access publication of this book.

I also thank my colleagues and friends in Zürich, and beyond for their conversations and companionship, which enriched my academic journey. Finally, I owe a special debt of gratitude to my wife, Shiori, for her patience, encouragement, and unwavering support.

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List of Abbreviations

The titles of the biblical books and related literature are abbreviated according to *The SBL Handbook of Style. For Biblical Studies and related Disciplines* (Second Edition), SBL Press, Atlanta, Georgia, 2014. Unless otherwise noted, all translations of the biblical text and other sources are my own.

AB	Anchor Bible
ABG	Arbeiten zur Bibel und Ihrer Geschichte
ADPV	Abhandlung des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
<i>AJBI</i>	<i>Annual of the Japanese Biblical Institute</i>
AnBib	Analecta Biblica
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
ArcB	Archaeology and Bible
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute in Jerusalem
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AUS.TR	American University Studies Series VII Theology and Religion
AYB	Anchor Yale Bible
AYBRL	Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library
BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BEATAJ	Beiträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des Antiken Judentums
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>
BibInt	Biblical Interpretation Series
BibLeb	Bibel und Leben
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblicher Kommentar Altes Testament
<i>BN</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
<i>BN.NF</i>	<i>Biblische Notizen Neue Folge</i>
BTS	Biblich-Theologische Studien
BVB	Beiträge zum Verstehen der Bibel
BW	Bible World
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
<i>BZ</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>BZ.NF</i>	<i>Biblische Zeitschrift Neue Folge</i>

BZABR	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CBET	Contributions to Biblical Exegesis and Theology
CBOT	Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBQMS	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CIS	Copenhagen International Seminar
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology
DBAT	<i>Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche</i>
DBATB	Dielheimer Blätter zum Alten Testament und seiner Rezeption in der Alten Kirche Beiheft
DSI	De Septuaginta Investigationes
EHS	Europäische Hochschulschriften
ETL	<i>Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FB	Forschung zur Bibel
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
GHAT	Göttinger Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
GTA	Göttinger Theologische Arbeiten
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HBAI	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
Heb	<i>Hebraica</i>
HBS	Herders Biblische Studien
HS	<i>Hebrew Studies</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HThKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IEKAT	Internationaler Exegetischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
JAET	<i>Journal of Ancient Egyptian Interconnection</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JASP	Judea & Samaria Publications
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JHebS	<i>The Journal of Hebrew Scriptures</i>
JNSL	<i>Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages</i>
JSJSup	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
JSNTSup	Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series
JSOT	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
JSSM	Journal of Semitic Studies Monograph
KAR	Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KST	Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie

LBS	The Library of Biblical Studies
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies
LSTS	Library of Second Temple Studies
LXX	Septuagint
MT	Masoretic Text
MTS	Marburger Theologische Studien
MTZ	<i>Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEBKAT	Die Neue Echter Bibel Kommentar zum Alten Testament
NSKAT	Neuer Stuttgarter Kommentar Altes Testament
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
ÖBS	Österreichische Biblische Studien
OTE	<i>Old Testament Essays</i>
OpTh	<i>Open Theology</i>
OTL	The Old Testament Library
OtSt	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
SANT	Studien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
SBAB	Stuttgarter Biblische Aufsatzbände
SBB	Stuttgarter Biblische Beiträge
SBL.ABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SBL.AIL	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Israel and Its Literature
SBL.ANEM	Society of Biblical Literature Ancient Near East Monographs
SBL.RBS	Society of Biblical Literature Resources for Biblical Study
SBL.SCS	Society of Biblical Literature Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series
SBL.StuBibL	Society of Biblical Literature Studies in Biblical Literature
SBL.SymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBL.WAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
Schol	Scholastik
SCS	Septuagint Commentary Series
SEC	<i>Semitica et Classica</i>
Sem	<i>Semitica</i>
SEÅ	<i>Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok</i>
SFEG	Schriften der Finnischen Exegetischen Gesellschaft
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften
SJ	Studia Judaica
SJOT	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SKKAT	Stuttgarter Kleiner Kommentar Altes Testament
SO	Symbolae Osloenses
SOTSM	Society for Old Testament Study Monographs
SP	Samaritan Pentateuch
SSam	Studia Samaritana
SSLL	Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics
STT.AASF.B	Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia Toimituksia Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae Sarja B
TA	<i>Tel Aviv</i>

TAD	<i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i>
ThA	Theologische Akzente
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
Transep	<i>Transeuphratène</i>
TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
UTB	Uni-Taschenbücher
VF	<i>Verkündigung und Forschung</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTE	Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon
VWGT	Veröffentlichungen der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft für Theologie
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WANEM	Worlds of the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean
WB	Die Welt der Bibel
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WO	<i>Die Welt des Orients</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZABR	<i>Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte</i>
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBKAT	Zürcher Bibelkommentare Altes Testament
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

1. Introduction

1.1. The Pentateuch in Modern Research

1.1.1. History of Research on the Pentateuch

This monograph aims to investigate the relationship between the literary-historical formation of several parts of the Pentateuch and the social groups of diaspora in the (post)exilic period. “Diaspora” and “Pentateuch” may initially seem like an odd combination. The setting of pentateuchal narrative in the second millennium BCE has no obvious connection to the social groups living in diaspora during the postexilic period (the latter part of the first millennium BCE). Recently, however, researchers (especially in Europe) have increasingly argued that many texts in the Pentateuch originated in the postexilic period.¹ Several of its texts could have been written by scribes in the postexilic period; if so, they may have had contemporary sociohistorical diaspora groups in their minds.²

This possibility immediately raises various questions: How do texts in the Pentateuch react to the contemporary sociohistorical environment and the groups in the diaspora? What role did interaction with different biblical traditions play in the formation of these texts in a diaspora setting? How does the formation of the diaspora concept in the Pentateuch relate to prophetic literature? This monograph investigates the literary and theological profile of the diaspora-related texts in the Pentateuch from the perspective of the literary-historical inquiry.

Although I use the expression “theme of diaspora in the Pentateuch” in this study, several facets of it require careful consideration. First, the term “theme” has meant something specific in the history of pentateuchal scholarship, particularly in the tradition-historical study by Martin Noth and the study on the “theme of the pentateuch” by David Clines, for whom it referred to narrative elements such as exodus or guidance through the wilderness (see section 1.2. for further discussion). However, my study of the “theme” of diaspora will pertain to the *literary-historical* and *historical-critical* analysis of the Pentateuch and prophetic literature. Although Noth used the term “theme” in his literary-historical study

¹ See, e.g., Giuntoli and Schmid, *Post-Priestly Pentateuch*. For a brief overview of the scholarship on post-P texts in the Pentateuch, see Schmid, “Post-Priestly Additions,” 589–604.

² These terms, “the world of the narrative” and “the world of the narrators,” (or, writers) are already used in Schmid, “Shifting Political Theologies,” 11–34.

of the Pentateuch, his themes pertain to the narrative elements of the Pentateuch (e.g. “Herausführung aus Ägypten” and “Führung in der Wüste”). My study aims to investigate especially the theme of diaspora that plays a role in the formation of several pentateuchal texts.

Second, the theme of diaspora is scarcely present in the Pentateuch in a direct and explicit way. Leviticus 26, Deut 4, and Deut 28–30 are important exceptions, but the theme of diaspora otherwise permeates the Pentateuch on two different levels: the literary and the historical. On the literary level, much of the Pentateuch takes place outside the land: the lawgiving takes place outside of the land at Sinai, the central sanctuary built by Moses has no fixed place and moves around with the Israelites, and Moses never enters the land but dies outside of it. The ancestors live in the land in the book of Genesis, but they do so as foreigners. The setting of the Pentateuch and the depiction of its main characters clearly fit very well with a diaspora readership. On the historical level, we have long thought that many parts of the Pentateuch were written in the exilic and postexilic periods: P;³ several parts of Leviticus–Numbers,⁴ late materials in the book of Deuteronomy,⁵ and the post-P materials in the Pentateuch.⁶ Even the early postmonarchic versions of the Jacob and exodus stories seem to presuppose the fall of the Northern Kingdom.⁷ A large part of the Pentateuch stems from the period when the people of Israel lived primarily in diaspora.

³ Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*; de Pury, “P^s,” 13–42; de Pury, “Abraham,” 73–89; Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 190–96.

⁴ See, e.g., Nihan, *From Priestly Torah to Pentateuch*; Rhyder, *Centralizing*; Bühner, *Schriftgelehrtes Murren*; Jeon, *From the Reed Sea to Kadesh*; Mathys, “Numeri und Chronik,” 555–78; Mathys, “Numbers and Chronicles,” 79–107; Achenbach, *Die Vollendung*; Achenbach, “Theocratic Reworking,” 53–78; Frevel, *Desert Transformations*; Artus, *Etudes*; Römer, “De la périphérie au centre,” 3–34; Römer, “Das Buch Numeri,” 215–31; Römer, “Egypt Nostalgia,” 66–86; Römer, “Israel’s Sojourn,” 419–45; Albertz, “Das Buch Numeri,” 335–55; and Röhrig, *Innerbiblische Auslegung*.

⁵ Otto, *Das Deuteronomium im Pentateuch und Hexateuch* and Schmid, “Deuteronomy,” 8–30.

⁶ Giuntoli and Schmid, *Post-Priestly Pentateuch*; Römer, “Egypt Nostalgia,” 66–86; Berner, *Die Exoduserzählung*; and Konkel, *Sünde und Vergebung*.

⁷ It is remarkable that, although the narrative geography of the Jacob cycle has a strong connection with the region of the Northern Kingdom, there is no royal figure who appears in its story; see Schmid, “Der Pentateuch,” 247–48 and cf. Blum, “Jacob Tradition,” 209–10 and Blum, *Die Komposition*, 175–86. As Schmid, “Der Pentateuch,” 248 n. 36 notes, this is notable because the royal origin myth seems to have been made in the contemporary Southern Kingdom in the form of the early version of the David story; for the formation of the earliest version of the David story, see Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 92–95 and Kratz, *Die Komposition*, 320–22. These points likely indicate that (at least some parts of) the Jacob cycle may come from the period after the fall of the Northern Kingdom. The pre-P Moses-exodus story portrays Israel originating in the land of Egypt and immigrating to the land of biblical Israel, but not establishing a kingdom. It is striking that the idea of kingdom is not an element of Israelite identity in the pre-P Moses-exodus story; see Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 114–20. Moses, the leader of Israel, is not a royal figure who liberates the people of Israel from imperial power; the use of the Sargon legend to

Study of the theme of diaspora in the Pentateuch should therefore be considered legitimate if it is undertaken with a view to historical and literary differentiation within pentateuchal texts. Yet it matters what model we use to understand these differentiations. According to critical scholarship, the Pentateuch is a composite text, written over time by multiple scribes. The classical model for its development is the Documentary Hypothesis, which understands the Pentateuch to be a compilation of four independent written source documents: J, E, D, and P. Noth (*Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch*) proposed that, prior to these written sources, pentateuchal literature formed around several main themes that stem from separate oral traditions. These themes include the promise to the ancestors, the exodus from Egypt, the revelation at Sinai, the guidance in the wilderness, and the conquest of the land.⁸ Noth's tradition-historical analysis of the Pentateuch emphasized these themes, which are focused on the world of the narratives, not the world of the Pentateuch's writers. The distinction between the world of the narrative and the world of the writers is very important. The theme of diaspora, becomes a central concern *in the world of the writers*, not the world of the narrative. There is certainly no "theme of the diaspora" in Noth's list.

According to the classical Documentary Hypothesis, the narrative of the ancestor Abraham consists of J, E, and P. J was traditionally dated to the (advanced) monarchic period,⁹ or, as proposed by Gerhard von Rad, to the Solomonic period (tenth century BCE).¹⁰ E was thought to come later, in the ninth–eighth centuries BCE,¹¹ and P to be from the exilic or early postexilic period.¹² None of these sources are contemporary with the setting of the Abraham narrative in the second millennium BCE.

frame the account of Moses's birth in Exod 2 presents Moses as an anti-imperial figure; see Otto, "Die Geburt" and Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 115–16. For the scholarly attempt to reconstruct the pre-P exodus story, see Germany, *Exodus-Conquest Narrative*. The postmonarchic version of the Jacob story also may presuppose the end of the Northern Kingdom.

⁸ Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, 45–67. The five themes are *Herausführung aus Ägypten* (the exodus from Egypt), *Hineinführung in das palästinische Kulturland* (leading into the arable land of Palestine), *Verheißung an die Erzväter* (the promise to the ancestors), *Führung in der Wüste* (guidance in the wilderness), and *Offenbarung am Sinai* (revelation at Sinai).

⁹ Wellhausen, *Die Composition*; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*; Seebass, "Zur geistigen Welt"; and Seebass, *Genesis I*, 34.

¹⁰ Von Rad, *Das formgeschichtliche Problem*, 64 and von Rad, *Die Theologie*, 68–69. In his influential article about the origin of historical writing in Israel, von Rad ("Der Anfang," 41–42) associates it with his idea of "Solomonic enlightenment." A date for J in the Solomonic period is followed by traditional introductions to the Hebrew Bible; see, e.g., Schmidt, *Einführung*, 73–75. For a concise view of the history of research on J and the issue of its date, see Gertz, "Tora," 205–10.

¹¹ Schmidt, *Einführung*, 85–87. For the date of E, see Gertz, "Tora," 205–10.

¹² Schmidt, *Einführung*, 95–97. For an overview of P and the Documentary Hypothesis, see Gertz, "Tora," 205–10.

Scholars started to challenge the Documentary Hypothesis in the 1970s, and mainstream continental European scholarship has now come to abandon it.¹³ The dissertation and *Habilitation* by Erhard Blum, *Die Komposition der Vätergeschichte* (1984) and *Studien zur Komposition des Pentateuch* (1990), played a significant role in this development.¹⁴ In Blum's view, the Pentateuch is not the result of combining four sources, with minor final redactions; rather, it emerged from several blocks of tradition, which were included in two larger compositions: KD and KP. In the wake of Blum's groundbreaking work, several studies challenged the Documentary Hypothesis and proposed alternative models for the literary-historical formation of the Pentateuch.¹⁵ Especially important in this discussion is the argument that P was the first document to connect the ancestor narrative (in the book of Genesis) and the exodus story. The original (pre-P) independence of the ancestor narrative and the Exodus story was demonstrated by Konrad Schmid and Jan Christian Gertz.¹⁶ If P was the first lit-

¹³ Already in the 1970s, several scholars started to question elements of the Documentary Hypothesis, especially the date of the J source; see Van Seters, *Abraham*; Schmid, *Der sogenannte Jahwist*; and Rendtorff, *Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem*. Schmid initially posited a relationship between the work of the Deuteronomist and the Yahwist, and this view was further investigated by Rose, *Deuteronomist und Jahwist*, who argues that J is later than the oldest literary layer of the Deuteronomistic History, and that it reflected and advanced Deuteronomistic concepts when it created its version of Genesis–Numbers. For Van Seters's distinctive view of J, see Van Seters, *Yahwist*; Van Seters, *Prologue*; and Van Seters, *Life*.

¹⁴ His discussion, however, owes to the previous argument by Rendtorff, *Das Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Problem*.

¹⁵ Blum, *Die Komposition*; Blum, *Studien*; Kratz, *Die Komposition*; Otto, *Das Deuteronomium im Pentateuch und Hexateuch*; Achenbach, *Die Vollendung*; Carr, *Introduction*; Carr, *Formation*; Zenger et al., *Einleitung*; Gertz, "Tora," 193–285; Albertz, *Pentateuchstudien*; Frevel, *Desert Transformations*; Levin, *Der Jahwist*; Römer, "Der Pentateuch"; Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*; Germany, *Exodus-Conquest Narrative*; Berner, *Die Exoduserzählung*; and Jeon, *From the Reed Sea to Kadesh*.

¹⁶ Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story*; Schmid, "So-Called Yahwist"; Gertz, *Tradition und Redaktion*; Gertz, "Transition"; Gertz, "Zusammenhang"; and Gertz, "Relative Independence." The idea that the ancestor narrative was originally independent of the exodus story was initially articulated by de Pury, "Le cycle de Jacob" and Römer, *Israels Väter*, 568–75. Schmid demonstrated the original independence of the ancestor narrative and the Moses story in the pre-P phase. Gertz's study of the final redaction of Exodus also revealed the original independence of the exodus story. Blum, "Die literarische Verbindung" accepted the position of Schmid and Gertz and modified his theory of KD, attributing non-P texts that presuppose the connection between the books of Genesis and Exodus to a Hexateuch redaction. Hong, "Genesis and Exodus" critiques the idea that the ancestor story and the exodus story were originally separate by using conceptual theories like hypertextuality, although he never discusses the text-critical and historical-critical issues. He also fails to properly engage with the scholarly discussion of P as the bridge between the books of Genesis and Exodus. In effect, he does not acknowledge that this is a problem of the literary dependence of the books of Genesis and Exodus and, as such, should be solved using literary-critical and historical-critical approaches. Another recent argument is offered by Baden, "Lack." Baden argues that there was already a literary connection between the books of Genesis and Exodus in the pre-P phase. Baden does not take into account that the argument for P as the earliest literary connection between the books of Genesis and Exodus is

erary source to connect Genesis and the exodus story, then the idea that pre-P sources – namely, J and E – extend across the entire Pentateuch, including the books of Genesis and Exodus, is no longer tenable. This discussion is captured in a volume of collected essays titled *Farewell to the Yahwist*, which was published in German and English and constitutes one of the most substantial challenges to the Documentary Hypothesis in the field (especially in Europe).¹⁷

The so-called “crisis” in pentateuchal research brought on by this development is not a crisis in the strict sense, because these new approaches have enabled scholars to research the texts of the Pentateuch in a new light, free from the constraints of the Documentary Hypothesis, which forced scholars to attribute each text to only one of the four sources, whose literary and theological characters are already established.¹⁸ One of the major restrictions and flaws of the Documentary Hypothesis in its classical form is that the date of each source document is more or less decided beforehand, which limits the possible historical background of the text to a predetermined time frame. For example, von Rad situates elements of Joseph story that may link with wisdom literature with the Solomonic enlightenment because the Joseph story is considered to stem from J, which is dated to the tenth century BCE, and because Solomon represents the

based not only on analysis of Gen 50 and Exod 1 but on multiple observations about materials both within and outside of the Pentateuch; see, e.g., Schmid, *Genesis and the Moses Story* and Müller, “Response,” 79. Baden’s warning about the potential for circular reasoning in the discussion of Gen 50 and Exod 1 is important, but his literary critical analysis of Gen 50 and Exod 1 is not detailed enough to draw a conclusion. Remarkably, many of his arguments focus not on literary-critical observations but on content. For example, he thinks that the ending of the non-P story of Gen 50 is “strange” because the ancestor figures are still in the land of Egypt in Gen 50:13 (Baden, “Lack,” 48), but this is not strange at all if the non-P Joseph story was written as a diaspora novella with the literary aim of legitimizing the life of the Israelite people in a foreign land; see, e.g., Römer, “Genesis 39”; Römer, “How ‘Persian’ or ‘Hellenistic’ is the Joseph Narrative?,” 43–46; Kratz, “Joseph Story”; Schipper, “Egyptian Background”; Schipper, “Joseph in Egypt”; and Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 160–62. Baden notably seems to view the ancestor narratives (Gen 12–36) and the Joseph story (Gen 37–50) as one literary entity, while other scholars think that they were originally independent from each other; see Römer, “Genesis 39”; Römer, “How ‘Persian’ or ‘Hellenistic’ is the Joseph Narrative?”; Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 160–62; Albertz, *Josephsgeschichte*; Blum and Weingart, “Joseph Story”. Baden therefore takes the non-P text of Gen 50:26, which concludes the narrative with the ancestors in the land of Egypt rather than biblical Israel, as “strange” for the ending of the broader ancestor narrative of Genesis. As Müller, “Response,” 83 points out, the detailed investigation of the textual history and literary-critical analysis should be the starting points for future discussion of the literary connection between Gen 50 and Exod 1.

¹⁷ Gertz et al., *Abschied* and Dozeman and Schmid, *Farewell*. The addition of a question mark in the English edition reflects the fact that the demise of the Documentary Hypothesis is not as clear in the United States as it is in continental Europe. There are still a few scholarly voices in Europe that adhere to the Documentary Hypothesis; see, e.g., Ludwig Schmidt, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*; Ludwig Schmidt, *Das vierte Buch Mose*; Werner H. Schmidt, *Einführung*; Ruppert, *Genesis*; and Seebass, *Genesis*.

¹⁸ Schmid, “Shifting Political Theologies,” 12. See the comments in Blum, *Studien*, 1; Schmid, “Von der Diaskeuase,” 1–2.

wisdom tradition.¹⁹ Yet von Rad's analysis contains serious problems. He could make very few explicit links between the wisdom elements of the Joseph story and the texts of the early wisdom tradition (which are attributed to Solomon's reign).²⁰ As Schmid argues, the wisdom elements in the Joseph story deal more with character formation through inspired wisdom than the practical wisdom that appears in the early wisdom tradition.²¹ The wisdom tradition reflected in the Joseph story is later and more developed than the early (tenth-century) wisdom tradition. Von Rad's reading is thus implausible and can be seen as an example of the limitations involved when imposing the date of the J source on the interpretation of the literary and theological elements of the Joseph story.

The traditional tenth-century date for the J source had serious consequences for interpretation of the Pentateuch.²² In particular, it ruled out the Babylonian exile and the situation of diaspora as a possible historical background for pentateuchal texts. Before the "crisis" in Pentateuch research, the latest document in the Pentateuch was thought to be *Priesterschrift* (Priestly writing), dated to the exilic period. Only in this source might we find reflections of social groups in the diaspora. Yet Abraham is described as a migrant who travels from his homeland to the land of Canaan in Gen 12:1–3, a text traditionally attributed to the preexilic J source. Likewise, the Joseph story is also thought to consist of J and E, from the tenth and ninth centuries BCE, respectively. The Documentary Hypothesis framework prevented scholars from exploring possible connections between Abraham the migrant and the historical background of the exilic period, when people had to travel between Jerusalem and the cities of Babylon, or between the Joseph story and the Egyptian diaspora.²³

¹⁹ Von Rad, "Josephsgeschichte und ältere Chokma," 120–27 and von Rad, "Die Josephsgeschichte." As noted by Schmid, "Sapiential Anthropology," 117, "von Rad was interested in dating the Joseph story to the period of what he called the 'Solomonic enlightenment,' and he therefore looked for parallels in the older wisdom tradition."

²⁰ Schmid, "Sapiential Anthropology," 116–17.

²¹ Schmid, "Sapiential Anthropology," 117. See also Fox, "Wisdom."

²² See n. 10. This idea is adopted in standard introductions to the Hebrew Bible; see Schmidt, *Einführung*, 73–75.

²³ The relevance of diaspora for interpreting the Joseph story has been heavily debated in recent literature. Several scholars argue for a relationship between the Joseph story and the Egyptian diaspora; see Römer, "Joseph Story"; Römer, "How 'Persian' or 'Hellenistic' is the Joseph Narrative?"; and Schipper, "Egyptian Background." Blum and Weingart, "Joseph Story" argue that the Joseph story originated in the Northern Kingdom during the monarchic period; they understand the Egyptian setting of the Joseph story as a narrative token that does not relate to the Egyptian diaspora. This position has been critiqued by Schmid, "Die Datierung" but has recently been taken up by Albertz, *Die Josephsgeschichte*. However, Albertz's work contains several problems. For example, he starts his discussion by listing the texts of the early preexilic edition of the Joseph story without giving his literary- and redaction-critical analysis of the Joseph story (27–30). His argument is marked by the tendency to classify all the texts that may be obstacles to his theory of the monarchic origin of the Joseph story as late additions. This problem can be pointed out in his hypothetical text group, which is categorized as the

While traditional scholarship was not able to entertain diaspora as a possible historical background for texts in the Pentateuch, a diasporic and exilic setting is more or less apparent in some texts. For example, the promise to Jacob in Gen 28:14 reads like a vision of the future diaspora existence of Israel.²⁴

והיה זרעך כעפר הארץ ופרצת ימה וקדמה וצפנה ונגבה ונברכו בך כל משפחת האדמה ובוזרעך
 And your descendants will be like the dust of the earth, and you will spread to the west, to the east,²⁵ to the north, and to the south. And all the clans of the earth will be blessed through you and through your descendants.

The theme of diaspora in this text has frequently been overlooked by scholars who adopt the Documentary Hypothesis. Hermann Gunkel, for example, dismisses

reworked second edition of the Joseph story (*die erweiterte Josephsgeschichte [EJG]*), along with Gen 47:13–26, to which he attributes all the texts that have any potential connection to the *Diasporanovella* theory (15–25). His dating of the original layer of the Joseph story to the middle of the ninth century, following Blum and Weingart, is also questionable. He thinks that the description of Joseph standing over his brothers confirms that the composition was written during the monarchy as a propaganda document for the Northern Kingdom (55–59), but it should be noted that the Joseph story never describes Joseph's dominance over his brothers. Rather, it thematizes the *reconciliation* among the brothers (see Schmid, "Sapiential Anthropology," 112–14), and this makes it difficult to support the idea that the Joseph story was originally conceived as a propaganda document of the Northern Kingdom. Most importantly, Albertz's model for the composition history of the Joseph story seems to be strongly influenced by a desire for consistency with his other theories on the formation of the Pentateuch, discussed, e. g., in Albertz, *Pentateuchstudien*; Albertz, *Exodus 1–18*; and Albertz, *Exodus 19–40*. Albertz thinks that two redactions (VG¹ and VG²) connected the Joseph story with the ancestor narrative (Gen 12–36) before the Priestly redaction in the late sixth century. He dates VG¹ to 550–539 BCE. Working backward, the Judah reworking (*Judäische Bearbeitung*), which is earlier than VG, dates to the second half of the seventh century, after the fall of the Northern Kingdom, when the Israelites immigrated into the kingdom of Judah, and, finally, the *EJG*, which connects the second edition of the Joseph story with the Jacob narrative, cannot have been written prior to the earlier part of the eighth century and probably dates to the later part. Because he dates VG to the exilic period (as he discusses in his other studies) and admits the existence of VG in the Joseph story, the Joseph story cannot have originated before the exilic period. In this case, the best candidate for Albertz is the period when the Northern Kingdom existed and flourished, for Joseph is a figure with a strong northern connection. However, while his redaction-historical model of the Joseph story and especially his monarchic period date for the composition of the early Joseph story depend on an exilic VG, he does not provide a clear explanation of why he can date VG in the exilic period based on the literary and historical profile of VG itself. His argument for the preexilic origin of the Joseph story is therefore problematic. The theory that the Joseph story is a *Diasporanovella* is thus more persuasive and likely and must not be abandoned. For my view of the Joseph story and its relation to the Egyptian diaspora, see Chapter 6 of this study and especially Hidaka, "Joseph Story."

²⁴ See Schmid, "The Diaspora as a Blessing," 79–89.

²⁵ LXX has a different order: καὶ ἐπὶ λίβη καὶ ἐπὶ βορρᾶν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνατολάς, "to the southwest, to the north, and to the east." Notably, LXX uses λίψη instead of νότος, and this may be the intention of the LXX translator, for MT lacks "west" in its formulation. This lack may be related to the geographical location of the Jacob story in the land of biblical Israel, where the west is the direction of the sea; see Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 554.

this text as late, with almost no explanation.²⁶ Von Rad hardly mentions the concept of the people spreading worldwide.²⁷ These are explicit cases in which Documentarian biases have hindered scholars from rightfully focusing on the concept of diaspora in the Pentateuch.

1.1.2. The Theme of the Pentateuch: Martin Noth and David J.A. Clines

The theme of diaspora is one of the most overlooked aspects of pentateuchal research and one that should be explored now that the Documentary Hypothesis is no longer the dominant model. As noted above, diaspora does not appear in Noth's list of main pentateuchal themes, which has been criticized on other grounds as well, particularly by David J.A. Clines, who argued that Noth simply gave us a list of the separate narrative sections of the Pentateuch, not a discussion of its overall and pervading theme.²⁸ Clines sought to do the latter in his monograph *The Theme of the Pentateuch*. In this study, he analyzes the so-called "final form" of the Pentateuch.²⁹ Even though he partially discusses the literary history of the Pentateuch,³⁰ his observations about its theme are based mainly on his synchronic reading, not on analysis of composition history, as Schmid criticizes.³¹ Although Clines's study is widely acclaimed and influenced the field in significant ways, his chiefly synchronic reading of the Pentateuch does not focus on the theme of diaspora, which can be explored only through a historical-critical reading that focuses on the world of writers and not only on the world of the narratives.

According to Clines, the central theme of the Pentateuch is the promise to the ancestors.³² He lists four elements of this promise: descendants, divine relationship, promise of land, and the allusions to the promise.³³ All of these elements can essentially relate to the theme of diaspora. For example, Clines refers to Gen 15 (vv. 4–5, 13, 16, 18) as an instance of the promise of descendants. It involves a

²⁶ Gunkel, *Genesis*, 318–19.

²⁷ Von Rad, *Das erste Buch Mose*, 229.

²⁸ Clines, *Theme*, 19–26.

²⁹ The concept of the "final form" of the Pentateuch is critiqued by Blum, "Gibt es die Endgestalt"; see also Blum, "Von Sinn und Nutzen."

³⁰ Clines, *Theme*, 94–102.

³¹ Schmid, "Von der Diaskeuase," 9.

³² Clines, *Theme*, 30.

³³ Clines, *Theme*, 31–47. His term for the fourth element, "allusions to the promise," may seem unclear and unsatisfactory because he includes in this category texts with all reflective references to the promise (and the covenant) already made to the ancestors, without specifying the topics and subjects of those promises. For example, Gen 21:1 reflects the promise to the descendants, while the allusion to the promise of the land in Gen 24:7 is categorized in the same group. Considering the specific topics of the promises in this fourth category, most of them can be distributed to the other three groups, and it is not clear why Clines needed to introduce this fourth category.

prominent promise of descendants (v. 18), followed by the extent of the land that Abraham's descendants will inherit:

ביום ההוא כרת יהוה את אברם ברית לאמר לזרעך נתתי את הארץ הזאת מנהר מצרים עד הנהר הגדל נהר פרס

On that day YHWH made a covenant with Abram, saying, "to your offspring, I will give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates."

Notably, the extent of the land covers the region in which Jews live in diaspora. The Babylonian *golah* lived in the region of the Euphrates and the Egyptian diaspora near the river of Egypt. So there is a sociopolitical element in the promise of the descendants that corresponds to the situation of the diaspora.

The second element of the promise theme, divine relationship, is exemplified in Gen 28:13–15, which is formulated as a promise of coexistence with YHWH:

¹³ והנה יהוה נצב עליו ויאמר אני יהוה אלהי אברהם אביך ואלהי יצחק הארץ אשר אתה שכב עליה לך אתננה ולזרעך ¹⁴ והיה זרעך כעפר הארץ ופרצת ימה וקדמה וצפנה ונגבה ונברכו בך כל משפחת האדמה ובזרעך ¹⁵ והנה אנכי עמך ושמרתיך בכל אשר תלך והשבתיך אל האדמה הזאת כי לא אעזובך עד אשר אם עשיתי את אשר דברתי לך

¹³ And, see, YHWH stood above him and said, "I am YHWH, the God of Abraham, your father, and the God of Isaac.³⁴ The land upon which you lie down I will give to you and to your descendants. ¹⁴ And your descendants will be like the dust of the earth, and you will spread to the west, to the east, to the north, and to the south. And all the clans of the earth will be blessed through you and through your descendants. ¹⁵ And, see, I am with you and will keep you wherever you go.³⁵ And I will bring you back to this land, for I will not forsake you until I have done³⁶ what I have told you."

The promise of the divine relationship in Gen 28:13–15 confirms that God will be with the people who have been scattered to foreign nations. Genesis 28:15 even promises that YHWH will accompany Jacob(/Israel) wherever Jacob(/Israel) goes and will make him return to the land. According to Schmid, this text claims that the widespread diaspora will bring blessing to the world and represents a positive theology of diaspora, in contrast to the anti-diaspora passages in prophetic literature and Deuteronomistic texts.³⁷ The central claim of the promise of divine relationship in Gen 28:13–15 may link not only with the world of the narrative (Jacob's travel) but also with the historical world of the writers, who experienced a sociohistorical situation of diaspora.³⁸

³⁴ LXX has a plus here compared to MT: μή φοβοῦ "do not be afraid." This phrase was probably added under the influence of other biblical passages that involve divine appearance; see, e.g., Gen 15:1; 21:17; 26:24; Judg 6:23.

³⁵ LXX translates ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ πάσῃ, οὗ ἂν πορευθῆς, "in all the way that you may go." The "way" is an addition in LXX; see Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 550.

³⁶ LXX has ἕως τοῦ ποιῆσαί με πάντα, "until I have done everything." The word πάντα is lacking in MT. Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 550 recommends following LXX and adding the word כל in this text.

³⁷ Schmid, "Diaspora."

³⁸ See Schmid, "Diaspora" and Schmid, "Shifting Political Theologies," 18–20.

The third element of Clines's promise theme, the promise of the land, has one of the most important implications for the people of the diaspora, because this element of the promise remains unfulfilled in the narrative context of the Pentateuch. This is arguably more significant for the diaspora groups than for those who already live in the land of biblical Israel. The other elements of the promise are fulfilled within the narrative framework of the Pentateuch. The descendants of Jacob multiply extensively in the land of Egypt (Exod 1:7; Deut 1:10), and divine relationship is secured by the installation of the tent sanctuary (especially Exod 40:34–35) and the establishment of cultic practice there, as well as the giving of the laws of Moses. The one element that remains unfulfilled is the promise of the land. This may have spoken to people in the diaspora, for whom it may have signaled a promise of their own future return.

Clines includes Deut 34:4 in his list of passages that are allusions to the promise, because it refers to the promise of the land that YHWH swore to the ancestors.³⁹

וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה אֵלָיו זֹאת הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי לְאַבְרָהָם לְיִצְחָק וְלְיַעֲקֹב לֵאמֹר לְזֶרַע אֲתִנְנָהּ הָרְאִיתִךָ
בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְשָׂמָה לֹא תַעֲבֹר

YHWH said to him,⁴⁰ "This is the land which I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying, 'To your'⁴¹ descendants I will give it.' I have let you see [it] with your eyes, but you will not go over there."

Deuteronomy 34 is located at the end of the Pentateuch, and this promise is recalled just before the statement of Moses's death in verse 5. Moses dies in a situation of diaspora, where he is reminded of the promise of the land without entering the land himself.⁴² This final chapter may indicate that the Pentateuch can be read as a literary work directed to a diaspora readership.⁴³

The theme of the Pentateuch, as proposed by Clines, thus has an undeniable connection to the people of diaspora.⁴⁴ Clines did not focus on this aspect, probably due to his lack of concern for the sociohistorical and political aspects of biblical literature. Yet the passages he identifies as central to the promise theme, as I have shown, include elements that relate to the social group of the diaspora.

³⁹ For the literary relationship between the ancestor promise and Deut 34, see Schmid, "Der Pentateuchredaktor," 185–88.

⁴⁰ LXX has a proper noun here: Μωυσῆς. See Wevers, *Notes*, 558.

⁴¹ LXX has a plural form for this word: υμῶν.

⁴² Römer, "Moses Outside the Torah," 3–4 and Römer, "Moïse," 143–44. Moses, who died in the situation of diaspora, was also born as a Hebrew child in the land of Egypt and spent his life in a foreign land. For this aspect of the life of Moses as a foreigner in the exodus narrative, see Achenbach, "Mose."

⁴³ See Schmid, "Der Pentateuchredaktor," 187–88 and Schmid, *Literaturgeschichte*, 228–29.

⁴⁴ To put it bluntly, it might even be possible to say that the theme of the Pentateuch, as Clines sees it, is in fact the theme of the Pentateuch particularly for the diaspora. All four elements of the promise to the ancestors can function as a hopeful promise to social groups living in diaspora.

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